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Bottomless Pits: The Decline of Subfloor Pits and Rise of African American Consumerism in Virginia

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Bottomless Pits: The Decline of Subfloor Pits and Rise of African American Consumerism in Virginia

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ABSTRACT PAGE

Subfloor pits related to slave buildings have challenged archaeologists in the Chesapeake for more than 40 years. Their use, meaning, and interpretation have been points for serious debate and indicative of theoretical trends in the archaeology of the African Diaspora since their discovery. This paper seeks to examine these trends and add a new interpretation to the many that are already out there. Through the examination and analysis of 116 slave-related structures in Virginia a decrease in the frequency of these features from the late 17th through 19th centuries will be illustrated. This trend will then be used to interpret the meaning of these features to the enslaved people that constructed and used them in the capitalist system of early Virginia. Finally, new directions will be explored with relation to the economy, power relationships, and agency of the enslaved.

Contents

List of Figures ii

Acknowledgements iii

Chapter 1: An Introduction 1

Chapter 2: A History of the Interpretation of Subfloor Pits and Slavery 2

Chapter 3: The Enslaved as Consumers 31

Chapter 4: A Disappearing Act 40

Chapter 5: Three Case Studies 52

Chapter 6: Looking Ahead by Looking Back 57

References Cited 60

Appendices 69

Sites with Subfloor Pits in Virginia 69

Charts for Subfloor Pit Frequencies 74

Artifact Data Charts for Case Studies 75

List of Figures

Figure 1: Average Number of Pits Per Structure in Three Long Periods.....43

Figure 2: Average Number of Pits Per Structure in Seven Short Periods.....45

Figure 3: Subfloor Pit in Ferry Farm Structure C (Photo Courtesy of George Washington Foundation).....54

Figure 4: Relative Percentage of Consumer Related Artifacts in Three Subfloor Pits.....56

Figure 5: Relative Percentage of Consumer Related Artifacts Showing Variation in the Third Period.....57

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Chapter 1: An Introduction

Square holes and archaeology go together like peas and carrots. Therefore, it is rather ironic that the interpretation of certain square holes has plagued archaeologists in the Chesapeake from the first generation of historical archaeology to the present. Subfloor pits, also known as hidey holes or root cellars, have been encountered by archaeologists in the Chesapeake since the 1960's and have challenged such archaeological masters as Noël Hume, Kelso, Deetz, Mouer, Singleton, Samford, and Neiman (Noël Hume 1966; Kelso 1984; Mouer 1992; Singlton 1995; Samford 2007; Neiman 2008). Subfloor pit is a generic name describing any feature that is essentially a hole in the ground lying beneath the floor of a structure. However, the features addressed here have some aspects in common, in that they generally occur in relation to slave housing, can occur with such frequency that they cover the floor of a structure, and show a decrease in frequency through the 18th century.

The following work has a few goals relating to these enigmatic features. The first is to discuss the differing interpretations of these features over the past forty years. Trends in the interpretation of subfloor pits in terms of use and meaning will be discussed illustrating theoretical undercurrents within the field of historical archaeology. The interpretation put forth in the following pages relies heavily on the notion of enslaved peoples as consumers, therefore, secondly, a brief review of the literature on this subject is included focusing mainly on the area of study for this thesis, Virginia. This review of slave consumerism and market behavior will also encompass the time period being examined, roughly 1670-1850. Thirdly, after the background, the more pertinent

questions relating to the data collected will be addressed. To start with, the notion that the frequency of subfloor pits declines in Virginia through the 18th century will be tested. At this point, a total of 116 slave-related structures has been analyzed and charted through time to show that slave related structures generally contained more pits early on and fewer toward the end of the 18th and into the early 19th century. With this assertion proven, the meaning of this decrease will then be examined. The decrease in pits will be related to the increased market accessibility and participation on the part of the enslaved, thereby indicating the creation and maintenance of a unique identity defined, in part, by participation in the capitalist economy. As a part of this argument, the contents of three pits from across the span of the 18th century will be analyzed to track this change in African American culture in Virginia. Finally, the research will be summarized and avenues for future interpretation will be presented relating the lives of enslaved peoples in Virginia to broader processes that affected and still affect everyone in the Americas and throughout the world.

Chapter 2: A History of the Interpretation of Subfloor Pits and Slavery

A Brief Overview of African Diaspora Archaeology

In order to understand the shifting interpretations of subfloor pits it is essential to first briefly examine the history and themes of the archaeology of enslaved Africans and African Americans. The archaeological remains of African American life have been

excavated by archaeologists since at least the 1930's (Singleton 1995:120). However, they were often disregarded, as the focus of the excavators was to better understand the architecture of mansion houses that remained above ground, such as Stratford Hall, Monticello, or Mount Vernon. It was not until the 1960's that archaeologists would focus squarely on the enslaved in their research. The pioneering effort in this branch of archaeology came from Charles Fairbanks in the coastal areas of Georgia and Florida (Ascher and Fairbanks 1971; Singleton 1995:119). It was also coincidence that African American archaeology started to blossom during this period along with the Civil Rights movement and the Historic Preservation Act. During the 1960's and 1970's the academic schools of New Ethnicity and New Social History aided in the study of people without a voice. These interrelated events created the perfect opportunity for African American archaeology to begin and take off. However, the increased focus on ethnic minorities often led to an archaeology of the Other where the investigator's perspective was most strongly represented (Singleton 1995:121). Archaeologists have struggled with this problem for the past several decades and have had to adjust their focus to solve it.

Over the past 40 or so years four main themes have dominated the archaeology of enslaved Africans and African Americans in the United States (Singleton 1995:119). These themes and their changing interpretations help to illustrate the paradigm shifts that have occurred in the archaeology of the African Diaspora since its inception. The first of these themes, living conditions, focuses mainly on housing and foodways of the enslaved (Singleton 1995:124). Out of all of the themes this is most easily associated

with early studies in African American archaeology which often lacked stated theoretical positions and was, for the most part, descriptive, mirroring the culture history approach that was so prevalent in early historical archaeology.

However, over time, three other themes emerged. These were status differences within the plantation, domination and resistance, and African American cultural identity formation (Singleton 1995:119). Cultural identity formation as a theme has undergone some major changes over time. At first, this theme was used as an attempt to find cultural indicators, or Africanisms, in the archaeological record. This can be seen in the early, and still present, view of things such as colonoware pottery, cowrie shells, or blue beads as markers of African American ethnicity (Singleton 1995:130). This then changed to a focus on African American culture as a creolized culture, rather than simply a continuation of African culture in a different place, starting with the work of Leland Ferguson in South Carolina (Ferguson 1992).

Tying into this theme is that of domination and resistance. Resistance, in the context of African American archaeology, can take many forms from extreme forms such as rebellion to everyday, subtle forms such as not working as hard or maintaining a unique cultural identity within the confines of slavery to undermine the control of the master. The maintenance of cultural identity as a form of resistance is something that this paper hopes to get at through the medium of subfloor pits. Resistance in relation to subfloor pits has been examined by others as well, as will be addressed later in this chapter (McKee 1992). The final theme, status within the plantation started with Otto's work on the status relationships between slaves, overseers, and masters (Otto 1975).

This theme has shifted as well to a focus on status within the enslaved community (Heath 1999a).

African American archaeology has changed significantly over the past four decades moving from a mostly descriptive field to a nuanced and theoretically informed analysis of the lives of enslaved Africans and African Americans. As archaeologists have refined their method and theory relating the African Diaspora the four themes identified by Singleton have begun to overlap and infiltrate one another. This has led archaeologists to the point where it is almost impossible to do a study on the enslaved without addressing at least three of the four themes explicitly or implicitly. This paper, hopefully, stands as an example of that trend which has come out of the greater focus upon the changing and hybridized identity of African Americans and, indeed, of all Americans.

First Contact with Subfloor Pits

It is probably no surprise to any student of Chesapeake archaeology to learn that Ivor Noël Hume was the first archaeologist to excavate a subfloor pit in a slave dwelling and report on it (Noël Hume 1966). What may surprise some people, however, is that he failed to recognize what it was used for or even that it was associated with the enslaved. These features were uncovered in the early 1960's as the result of a salvage excavation at Tutter's Neck performed by Colonial Williamsburg Restoration Inc., led by Noël Hume. The excavation uncovered two buildings, the main house and what was interpreted as a kitchen (Noël Hume 1966:45), and several features associated with

them. Among these features were four rectangular pits situated within the foundations of the "kitchen" and all, seemingly, oriented with the building (Noël Hume 1966:45-46). The pits were excavated and yielded a variety of artifacts, including pewter spoons, ladles, turned bone objects, drug jars, scissors, and colonoware (Noël Hume 1966:47-48). These artifacts helped to produce an occupation date of 1740. Rather than associating these features with the structure, however, Noël Hume called them rubbish pits that predated the construction of the building, similar to a large circular pit that the hearth foundation was sinking into (Noël Hume 1966:45-46).

The misinterpretation of the structure as a kitchen completely unrelated to the pits raises the question of how an accomplished archaeologist, such as Noël Hume, could misinterpret something so glaringly obvious. The first thing to note when asking this question is that Chesapeake archaeology was still, in many ways, in its infancy and no such features had been seen before. This, however, does not explain why he did not relate the pits, which are aligned and situated within the structure, to the building or to possible slave occupation as a result of the artifacts. His mistake likely stemmed from his own biases that he brought into his work. These biases are clear in his reference to Tutter's Neck in *Here Lies Virginia,* where he says that the colonoware in the pits could not be associated with white settlers because not even the poorest white people would use such a ware (Noël Hume 1994:148-149). He goes on to say that the building was probably converted into slave housing after the land was sold to a Mrs. Bray, but that the pits would have been capped by that time (Noël Hume 1994:148-149). This seems to be a major flaw in his logic because if slaves were living there after the pits were

capped and he only associates slaves with colonoware, then how did the colonoware get into the pits? Fortunately, other archaeologists, such as William Kelso and Patricia Samford, noticed this discrepancy and recognized Noël Hume's study as the first instance of the excavation and reporting of subfloor pits in a slave context in the Chesapeake (Kelso 1984; Samford 2007). Even though the features were misinterpreted in the beginning it serves as an important example of how biases can influence archaeological work and as the starting point for the archaeology of subfloor pits and slavery in Virginia.

Early Interpretations

The next stage in subfloor pit interpretation spans the decades of the 1970's and 1980's when archaeologists fully associated these features with enslaved Africans and African Americans, an association that has been with us for more than thirty years. It is common practice in this discipline for archaeologists to revise and sometimes refute the work of their mentors. Therefore, it should come as no surprise that the next great step in subfloor pit interpretation was taken by Noël Hume's archaeological protégé, William Kelso, which began during the excavations at Kingsmill Plantation (Kelso 1984). This is not to say that the road to the association of subfloor pits with slavery was cleared, all of a sudden, by Kelso's work. As a matter of fact, Kelso almost fell into the same boat with his archaeological mentor in his early interpretation of the subfloor pits that he had discovered as tanning pits (Walsh 1997). However, he quickly realized the importance of these features and the association with enslaved peoples. Kelso soon modified his

discussion on the meaning and use of these features, which has been an essential (and essentializing) aspect of African Diaspora archaeology in the Chesapeake.

Excavations at Kingsmill began in 1972 as part of a rescue effort headed by Kelso under the Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission to gather information about the Kingsmill property before residential development of the property by the Anheuser-Busch Corporation destroyed the archaeological resources on the lands (Kelso 1984:6). During the excavations several buildings and countless features were unearthed, among which were slave houses containing, and distinguished by, subfloor pits. Upon excavation of these features Kelso noticed that many of the subfloor pits had been divided by wooden partitions, as evidenced by dark linear stains in the soil, to create compartments (Kelso 1984:105). He interpreted the pits as storage areas for roots and wrote that while this method of food preservation is common among Europeans, it is possible that root cellars were introduced in the colonies by slaves due to the fact that they do not appear before slavery takes hold in the Chesapeake in the late 17th century (Kelso 1984:105). The dates for the sites with root cellars at Kingsmill range from the early 18th century to about the 1780's. Kelso offers two other possible explanations for the pits. That these cellars may have been used to hide things stolen from the master, or that they were rubbish pits used to store old personal effects and prevent them from falling into the hands of somebody who might curse the owner (Kelso 1984:201-202). The latter explanation could account for the high frequency of pits within single buildings.

Kelso clearly viewed these subfloor pits, or root cellars as he called them, as a form of material culture almost exclusively related to slavery. This is evident when he offers the interpretation of a single root cellar dug below the floor of the Bray house basement as evidence of slave occupation (Kelso 1984:104). This, for better or worse, seems to be the moment in which these features were associated, wholesale, with enslaved peoples in the Chesapeake, despite antecedents in both English and Native American cultures. Kelso's interpretation of their use, however, is important and has shaped later interpretations. Yet, it is time to reexamine this interpretation.

Kelso's main argument is that these spaces served as storage spaces for root vegetables and other foodstuffs. The argument is that these pits were strictly functional, which is perhaps an easily defendable argument. However, it is interesting to note that Kelso also points to an Anglo-Virginian example to support this interpretation even though he asserts that these root cellars are strictly slave related (Kelso 1984:105). His idea that they were places to hide objects from the master holds significantly less water. This is primarily due to the fact that he undermines his argument by giving a documented example of a master knowingly searching the pits for pilfered goods (Kelso 1984:201), a knowledge that was most certainly common throughout the Chesapeake.

His final argument on the use of root cellars is his most complex, in that it draws on the ritual behavior of enslaved peoples and the practice of curses, yet, this argument too, has problems. If, in fact, these pits were used for the disposal of personal refuse in order to keep it out of the hands of those who could use it to put a curse on the owner then why is there not more primary refuse in the pits and why are there compartments

in many of them? He seems desperate to relate these features to enslaved Africans and African Americans, so much so that he did not end up taking all of his evidence into account. Nevertheless, this work, especially his association of subfloor pits with slavery, has had a far-reaching impact on African Diaspora archaeology in Virginia which greatly expanded in the 1990's.

An Interpretive Explosion

The 1990's turned out to be a decade of great diversity in terms of the interpretation of subfloor pits. No doubt there are several overlapping reasons for this sudden explosion of ideas among which are greater access to and excavation of sites related to enslaved people, an increasing number of historical archaeologists, and the introduction and implementation of newer and varied theoretical models. This generation of interpretation begins to shift away from Chesapeake archaeology, though its roots are still significant, and move toward an archaeology of the African Diaspora. This is evident in the research interests of the archaeologists that offer interpretations, such as Leland Ferguson, Maria Franklin, Theresa Singleton, and Daniel Mouer (Ferguson 1992; Mouer 1992; Singleton 1995; Franklin 1997). It is at this point that subfloor pit interpretation begins to broaden its focus, if not to a global scale then at least to a regional one, reflecting contemporary trends in historical archaeology.

Early in the 1990's interpretations began to address the origin, growth, and decline in frequency of subfloor pits, as well as discussing their geographical distribution. With the excavation of more slave related sites and subfloor pits, patterns

such as high frequency of pits in the early 18th century, decline in frequency as the century progressed, and almost exclusive occurrence in the Chesapeake region and areas populated by Virginians were becoming visible. Larry McKee is one of the first archaeologists to address the problem of drop in frequency of subfloor pits, which he does through the examination of 19th century slave housing in Virginia (McKee 1992). Involving the interpretation of the function of these features he draws heavily from the ideas of Kelso, citing his work, calling them root cellars, and describing them as "hidey holes" for storing personal belongings and says that their presence may represent unsettled and unsupervised slave housing (McKee 1992:198). He goes on to discuss reasons as to why these features may have become less common. According to McKee, the decline resulted from raising buildings off the ground, which occurred in the early 19th century as planters sought to reduce the accumulation of filth and reduce the spread of disease by allowing air to circulate (McKee 1992:203). Finally, he points out the inconsistent presence of these features in Tennessee and the lack of them in the southeast, which he attributes to environmental factors (McKee 1992:206).

McKee's most interesting point about the use and meaning of subfloor pits, as a means of resistance (McKee 1992:205; Kelso 1986:34), is simply glossed over and not included in his explanation of why their frequency decreased. It would make sense that if these features really are forms of resistance then their decrease in frequency might reflect some sort of change in how slaves resisted their masters, or even a change in the system of slavery. His architectural explanation also fails to fully explain this phenomenon because the decrease in frequency is seen in earthfast buildings with dirt

floors, and when buildings were raised off the ground, pits were still dug beneath the floor (McKee 1992:205). Therefore, this architectural change may have been a hindrance to the creation and maintenance of pits, but was not a deterrent. His environmental explanation of the absence of root cellars in the southeast is also somewhat weak. It seems that to accept this explanation one would have to believe that there are no, or very few, subfloor storage features in the southeast due to soil conditions or water table problems. This, however, is not the case as there has been subfloor storage in the southeastern United States since prehistoric times, which points to the likelihood of a cultural explanation for the lack of subfloor pits in the southeast region.

Leland Ferguson's *Uncommon Ground* (1992), while not addressing slavery in the Chesapeake explicitly, makes some important contributions to the study of subfloor pits that can be seen later on. Ferguson focuses primarily on South Carolina and therefore does not point to many specific examples of subfloor pits. However, he does briefly mention the topic, seeming to come down on the side of storage space for food as to their use or as borrow pits for chinking mud chimneys (Ferguson 1992:58). Interestingly, he does offer the example of a slave house, Spiers Landing, in Berkeley County, SC which has what he interprets as a single root cellar (Ferguson 1992:67, 71). By offering this example he presents the idea that subfloor pits may exist in the southeast, but simply not to the extent that they do in Virginia. His most important contribution to the discourse, however, is the idea of a creolization model for enslaved culture. As a result of this he views subfloor pits as uniquely African American rather

than being a sort of survival brought over from Africa (Ferguson 1992:58). These pits are actually a result of the colonial experience and the mixing of cultures to create an entirely new culture in America. In a small amount of time archaeologists begin to adopt this model for the study of slave life and material culture, and within a year it is applied to subfloor pits in a Chesapeake context.

The creolization model enjoyed great success in the early 1990's, particularly with its association with colonoware and Chesapeake pipes, which have their own discourse within the field of historical archaeology that predates subfloor pits. Mouer reminds archaeologists that subfloor pits should not be dismissed as a creolized artifact, despite their official status as a feature (Mouer 1993:147). As with Ferguson, he believes that pits, like colonoware or pipes, were the result of a new African American culture that grew out of the colonial experience in the Chesapeake. He points out the common traits between English butteries and dry wells and subfloor pits in slave contexts, particularly their proximity to the hearth (Mouer 1993:149). However, in keeping with his creolization model, which emphasizes mixing rather than acculturation processes, he also points out the differences such as pits being numerous and most often along walls and in corners (Mouer 1993:149). Mouer gives an example of what may be the earliest subfloor pit related to enslaved African Americans in the new world at the Jordan's Journey site where a small pit was found in the corner of a servants' building dating to 1630 (Mouer 1993:150). Most importantly, however, he argues for the influence of Igbo culture, almost to the exclusion of other African groups, on the

creation of the new African American culture (Mouer 1993:151), a form of Igbocentrism that will rear its head in later studies of subfloor pits.

There is little argument that Mouer is on the right track by viewing subfloor pits as creolized artifacts. However, his idea of creolization might be slightly flawed. His concentration on Igbo groups as having heavy influence essentially removes other African groups that were enslaved from the picture. Did they not have a say in what was going on in the creation of African American culture? It is highly doubtful that Chesapeake slaves were a simple combination of Igbo and Anglo cultures. There was certainly more mixing and sharing of ideas going on that are likely manifested in the use and meaning of subfloor pits, but have yet to be explored. His interpretation of the pit at Jordan's Journey as indicative of an African slave also speaks a great deal about the direction that subfloor pit interpretation was moving. Archaeologists then, and now, automatically associate subfloor pits with enslaved peoples. These features have become similar to colonoware in that they are now markers of identity and, rather than being contextually interpreted, are used for essentializing African American culture. While the creolization model is an excellent way of looking at slavery in the Chesapeake and at subfloor pits, Mouer's interpretation and use of it started a trend of Igbocentrism and essentialism that still haunts the archaeology of slavery in the Chesapeake.

The majority of subfloor pit interpretations have come out of works that focus on the archaeology and interpretation of slavery in North America rather than strictly the archaeology of these features. As a result, early interpretations have a much larger influence on what is written, at any given time, about pits and they are treated in a

rather cursory manner. The 1990's saw a rise, compared to the previous decade, in works on the archaeology of slavery, due to its recent rise in popularity within the field of historical archaeology. Therefore, the mention of subfloor pits in works from this period associates them almost exclusively with enslaved Africans (Samford 1996:95, 100; Walsh 1997:103). At the same time, however, some archaeologists call for a reexamination of the wholesale association of pits with African Americans (Singleton 2006:256; Deetz 1996:220), and say that pits may not have been a marker of ethnicity, but a result of the conditions of slavery, thus representing a form of day to day resistance (Singleton 1995:124). The archaeologists who associate these features solely with African Americans tend to draw heavily on Kelso's "hidey hole" interpretation, saying that the pits were used to store personal belongings, stolen items, or vegetables and served as a form of resistance (McKee 1992:198; Samford 1996: 95, 100; Walsh 1997:181).

While both groups of archaeologists, those who essentialize and those who speak against it, tend to agree that subfloor pits are forms of resistance to the slave system, they fail to address why this form of resistance became less frequent through time. Did slaves finally accept their position? Did they resist in new ways? Was there some sort of change in the slave system when these features became less frequent that can help to explain this? Singleton and Deetz say that masters eventually started raising slave housing off of the ground in the 19th century partially to prevent the digging of pits and exercise social control (Deetz 1996:221), but that slaves dug them anyway (Singleton 1995:124). This shift in architecture seems a rather simplistic explanation for

the reduced frequency of pits and as anthropologists should we not look, instead, to a cultural explanation? Also, the fact that these surveys of the archaeology of slavery fail to address any debate over the interpretation of subfloor pits seems to show that in the mid 1990's Kelso's interpretation of them, as distinct artifacts of African American culture and resistance, was still widely accepted. Although this interpretation is probably correct, in many instances, it has the ability to discourage archaeologists from closely examining the context of these features and applying this standard interpretation to them without questioning its relevance to a particular situation. The discussion of essentializing these features, however, does serve to open a dialogue that questions what is thought to be known about subfloor pits, but it comes slowly and does not take hold for another ten years.

While it did take until the dawning of the 21st century for the majority of archaeologists to employ a contextual framework in the examination of subfloor pits, there were a few who pioneered the application of this interpretive framework in the late 1990's. Two main contextual examinations of pits came about at this time, which focused on their location, inside as opposed to outside, and its meaning, and their contents and situation within the household and its meaning. The first style of examination placed importance on the privacy afforded to slaves in the storage of goods by the placement of pits within the household (Young 1997:25). This privacy, within the context of slavery, provided the opportunity to hide things from the master, but more importantly to reduce risk through the storage of food and the prevention of jealousy by hiding goods indoors and out of view of fellow slaves (Young 1997:25).

The second method for the contextual interpretation of pits relies on the close examination of the contents of the features and their location as a way to determine their use as either a hidey hole or root cellar on a site by site basis. Maria Franklin performs this type of analysis on a duplex style slave quarter from the 1740's-1770's by separating the primary from the secondary refuse within the features and examining their temporal relationship to one another (1997:99-101; Franklin 2004). Two separate phases of pit construction help her to determine that there may have been a change in occupants (Franklin 1997:100), and the contents and location within the structure allow her to determine their use, with pits near the hearth being used for food storage (Franklin 1997:105) and one that is small and isolated as a hidey hole for personal belongings (Franklin 1997:109).

Contextual studies like these allowed archaeologists to start thinking about how these pits were used by the people that dug them and what they might have meant. Rather than simply interpreting them all in one way, pits within the same structure could be interpreted differently, thus showing that they may have meant different things to different people even within the same group. Although contextual interpretation may seem rather particularistic in some instances, it can lead to broader topics such as risk reduction or resistance. Its particularism, in fact, may be a good thing in that it can allow for different types of subfloor pits to be interpreted differently based on their use, which makes perfect sense. It is quite likely that a root cellar for storing vegetables meant something entirely different to an enslaved African American as opposed to a hidey hole for storing either personal items or pilfered goods. The fact

that the contextual approach to these features allows for multiple interpretations mated perfectly with the theoretical currents gaining strength archaeology in the late 1990's of multi-vocality and the viability of multiple interpretations brought on by the post-processual and post modern schools of thought. The followers of these theoretical frameworks and their opponents would soon make their mark, in a big way, on the interpretations of subfloor pits in the Chesapeake.

Interpretation Today

The interpretation of subfloor pits at the present has taken a turn toward being more nuanced and focusing on more complex models that seek to explain the rise, fall, and use of these features. In the past decade three main explanations have emerged as the top contenders for interpreting subfloor pits. Many archaeologists still subscribe to Kelso's model, with some modifications and additions, that pits served as hidey holes and root cellars and represent resistance to slavery (Graham et al. 2007). A vocal minority, led by the work of Fraser Neiman, subscribe to a neoevolutionary model of interpretation, based on game theory, which relates the rise and fall of use to kinship relations and choice in living partners, citing their use as a sort of safe deposit box (Neiman 1997, 2001, 2006, 2008; Fesler 2004b). Finally, the most recent interpretations of these features seek to assign a religious meaning stemming from West African belief systems (Samford 2007). Regardless of the main interpretive framework that archaeologists ascribe to today, it seems that they at least appreciate and recognize the

validity of the other arguments and realize that more than one process or meaning was happening simultaneously.

One of the most well thought out and explained models accounting for the rise and fall in usage of subfloor pits comes from Neiman's neoevolutionary perspective. This model relies on three key points: that pits were used as safe deposit boxes, that kinship, or lack thereof, played an important role in their creation and use, and that a game theoretic model is the best way to deal with these relationships. Essentially, subscribers to this interpretation say that subfloor pits served as safe deposit boxes for their owners to store personal belongings in order to decrease the possibility of theft in situations where large numbers of unrelated people were living together (Neiman 2004:2; Fesler 2004b:211). Rather than being spaces to hide personal belongings, the objects were placed in pits which were known to everybody as the personal spaces of certain individuals. Game theory is applied to this situation in order to show that the use of these pits decreased the probability that items would be stolen due to the fact that everybody would know whose pit was whose and the time and difficulty involved in accessing items would not be worth the risk of getting caught (Neiman 2004:4). This model is applicable due to the fact that the majority of enslaved Africans living in quarters together were unrelated. By 1790, however, family groups started to show up and, thus, subfloor pits begin to decline in frequency because there is less of a need to worry about theft between those living together (Neiman 2004:5). This theory also takes into account the lack of pits in South Carolina, saying that from the beginning of

slavery in that area slaves had some measure of choice over with whom they lived with (Neiman 2004:6, 2008:23).

Neiman's interpretation has faced a good deal of criticism in this postmodern age due to its use of neoevolutionary theory (Samford 2007). However, it is well respected and has been used by many archaeologists to explain the decline in use of subfloor pits, if for no other reason than because it is one of the most logical and easily defensible hypotheses. It has even been applied to gender studies in slavery, showing how pits were likely only used by men due to the fact that in many Western and Central African cultures women participated in community support networks so they would not have been as concerned with theft (Fesler 2004b:211).

The assumptions underlying this interpretation though do raise some questions. The first is why are pits maintained for years? If the same group of slaves is living together for years would they not come to trust each other over time and therefore no longer have a need to worry about theft? Another question concerns the placement of pits. If, in fact, these features are safe deposit boxes then why do they sometimes group around the hearth, as at the Rich Neck site? Would it not make more sense to have a pit underneath a bed or in a similarly close location if it were a safe deposit box?

The South Carolinian explanation is also somewhat troubling. It raises the question of how much control over living arrangements slaves actually had. It seems unlikely that masters would have allowed their slaves to organize themselves in any manner they pleased, especially since different slaves would have been on different parts of the plantation. It is also interesting to note that the majority of slaves coming

to the Piedmont from 1755-1775 were immigrants, which would have made it difficult to establish family groups (Morgan 1988:433-435).

The final, and most important, question this interpretation raises is where is culture in all of this? People are reduced to players in a game who act in predefined ways. On top of this, any cultural beliefs or practices that they might have relating to subfloor storage are discounted. As far as we know, subfloor pits fail to show up in Jamaica (Fred Smith, pers. comm.); yet another area where large numbers of unrelated slaves lived together. Why is this? This interpretation works well at the local scale of the Chesapeake region, but fails to address global influence or the cultural nature of this phenomenon.

Kelso's interpretation of pits as personal storage areas, or hidey holes, is evident today even with the previous example, but has started being used and modified to address concerns such as the conditions leading to the origins of subfloor pits. A recent interpretation of the emergence of subfloor pits in the late 17th century suggests that they were used to keep weekly rations secure, which was easily accomplished in these features that acted like closets, or hidey holes (Graham et al. 2007:509). The reason for the emergence of pits in the late 17th century, rather than earlier, may stem from masters providing rations communally rather than individually and on a daily basis, therefore reducing any need to store food (Graham et al. 2007:510). This shift in provisioning is explained by planters wanting to reduce operating costs by making slaves more responsible for their own food procurement and production (Graham et al. 2007:510). Interestingly, Neiman was one of the coauthors of the article, and the only

archaeologist, where this hypothesis was put forward, which indicates that he subscribes to this as an explanation for the origin of subfloor pits, showing the interpretive influence of Kelso on him.

This interpretation is very straightforward, and easily defensible if historical records indicating a shift from communal daily provisioning to weekly individual provisioning can be located. This does, however, raise the question of why there is a decrease in frequency at the end of the 18th century. Neiman's ideas about kinship fit well with this hypothesis, but could the pits decrease for reasons that are similar to their emergence? Is it possible that there is another shift in provisioning systems for slaves in the Chesapeake that makes it so that slaves no longer have a great use for hidey holes? There is also a question of what the slaves are doing with the provisions they store in the pits. Are the contents of the pits for personal consumption or are they indicators of the enslaved incorporating themselves into the capitalist economy, albeit slightly, through trade and sale? Nevertheless, this interpretation, along with Neiman's and many other contemporary works (Franklin 2004; Pullins et al. 2003; Samford 2007) shows a great deal of influence from the very earliest work by Kelso and his interpretations. Archaeologists working with subfloor pits are constantly in his shadow, as evidenced by the association of pits with slave sites and their use as hidey holes or root cellars. The fact that his work is now being built on and used in ways that discuss the origins and decline of these features shows that, despite the essentializing that often goes along with this interpretation, it can be used to discuss broader regional and possibly even global trends using subfloor pits as the units of analysis.

Although most archaeologists draw on the work of Kelso, a new interpretation for the use and meaning of subfloor pits has come about in the Chesapeake. This interpretation relies heavily on contextual analysis of the artifacts within pits and knowledge of West African religious practices. This contextual analysis of pits has led Patricia Samford to believe that subfloor pits functioned as shrines for enslaved people in the New World (2007:149-173). This interpretation is based on the evidence of Igbo burials in West Africa containing similar artifacts, cosmologically important colors, and similar arrangements of artifacts (Samford 2007:153, 161, 166). Based upon pollen evidence, there is also the possibility of libations of wine being poured into the pits, a uniquely West African tradition (Samford 2007:160). However, Samford does not say that pits were only used in this way. She discusses their use as either personal storage spaces, root cellars, or shrines as based upon size, contents, and location within a structure and says that they can serve any combination of these purposes at once (Samford 2007:174). In this way, she acknowledges previous interpretations as valid, but dependent upon their context. Her interpretations on the origin and meaning of pits hearken back to Mouer's work in that she calls these features a creolized form that is distinctly African American, but, like Mouer and others, encounters some problems in her use of the creolization model.

Throughout her work she focuses on the Igbo people and how their practices, burials, and cosmology are reflected in subfloor pit contents. The parallels that she draws are very convincing in some cases, but if this practice emerges from the influence of one culture it should not be called creolization. Her evidence for shrine use makes

pits seem like Africanisms, or more particularly Igboisms, and survivals rather than features that have been created out of the interaction between different cultures in the New World. Igbo people accounted for 60% of all slaves brought to America (Samford 2007:32-33), which should lead any diligent archaeologist to ask the question of how the other 40% of slaves from different cultures influenced the creation of a creolized culture and subfloor pits.

This is not to say that her interpretation of pits as shrines is wrong, on the contrary she offers a good deal of evidence for it based upon her contextual analysis, which she no doubt learned while working in Williamsburg, but her association of this ritual use with only Igbo people seems to be essentializing. Out of all the previous interpretations of subfloor pits, however, this one may be the most significant in terms of getting at the meaning of these features to the people who used them. Although it does take some interpretive leaps and sometimes stumbles in its use of the creolization model, there seems to be a great deal of potential in it. If the ritual behavior of other African groups can be related somehow to pits then the case for a truly creolized cultural form could be made. Before larger interpretations can take place, however, works like this one, and others from this past decade, must be done to lay the groundwork for scholars to draw from.

Pits before Contact

It may seem counter intuitive to discuss the interpretation of prehistoric pits after pages on the interpretation of pits related to slavery. However, prehistory is rarely

the first place that historical archaeologists look when discussing subfloor pits, and it is difficult to break tradition. Rather, this very brief interpretive review is placed last to afford it a measure of importance over the previous interpretations. Too often archaeologists in the Chesapeake dismiss the idea that Native Americans could have influenced the creation of subfloor pits in enslaved contexts, citing that subfloor pits did not exist in the Chesapeake at contact. While subfloor storage may not have existed within dwellings it does not mean that there were no pits in the Chesapeake at contact. The fact that they do not exist in the Tidewater at contact also does not take into account other parts of Virginia that may have had some influence on their creation as a truly creolized form stemming from the interaction between African slaves, Native Americans, and English colonists (as will be addressed in the next section). This section, however, seeks to give a brief introduction to the interpretation of subfloor storage features in Native American contexts in the precontact and contact periods.

As opposed to historical archaeologists working on slave contexts, prehistorians have created and employ a typology based upon, size, shape, stratigraphy and contents to identify the use of subfloor storage features (Stewart 1977:151). The typology begins by determining if the feature is altered by fire or not (Stewart 1977:149). The pits that relate most closely to those in slave contexts are the non-fire pits which include storage, refuse, curing, cache, borrow, and pot holder pits (Stewart 1977:159). Some pits are also believed to have been used by shamans in curing ceremonies, though these are hard to place in a typology (Stewart 1977:160). Such a typology would prove extremely useful for historical archaeologists, if they can accept the fact that different uses may be

happening simultaneously, as Samford discussed (2007:174). In many ways a typology already exists for English colonial pits with types such as dry wells and butteries. It is unclear why this has not been extended to African American sites. It is possible that archaeologists view English settlers as more logical and less creolized, thus their subfloor storage would only be used in one way or the way they intended it. However, it is probably true that even English colonists are using their subfloor features in multiple ways at once. This raises the question of whether a typology would be useful at all. Rather than saying "this is what it was used for" archaeologists should create a typology that can allow for different options in use. For example, a pit situated in front of a hearth of a size around 5'x3' with a depth of 2' containing micro and macro botanical remains of maize or root vegetables should be interpreted as a root cellar for storing vegetables, but could also be for storing belongings or performing rituals, based upon context. As more evidence comes to light for each feature a use can be more narrowly defined, but the archaeologist must remember that the use does not have to be set in stone, which is why there are so many options and levels in prehistoric pit typologies.

Subfloor pit usage in prehistory tends to come and go and is often related to social organization and the storage of surplus food. The absence of pits during certain periods often correlates with communal food storage, as would be the case in chiefdoms similar to those that existed in the Mississippian period and during the contact period in the Chesapeake (Gallivan 2003:29; Potter 1993:120; Wesson 1999). This storage of surplus in above ground facilities can be interpreted as a display of

power and wealth by the chief (Wesson 1999:149) or as indicative of a sort of generalized reciprocity that is taking place within the group, but is usually limited to people living in compounds (Gallivan 2003:50). Interestingly, it also seems that the use of subfloor storage can come about as a response to higher levels of social organization. The storage of surplus in these pits would effectively serve to hide it from tribute collectors and thus represent a challenge to elite hegemony through the defiance of tribute demands (DeBoer 1988:9; Gallivan 2003:92; Wesson 1999:157).

The rise, fall, frequency, size, location, and use of these features in prehistoric contexts seem to be different from region to region due to different social and cultural conditions that are at work. In the Chesapeake, pit features for storage within houses peak in the late Woodland II period, drop off in the protohistoric period and are gone by contact (Gallivan 2003:101). However, there is ethnohistorical evidence for storage pits outside of houses in the contact period for hiding valuables (Gallivan 2003:92). In contrast to this example, the Creeks tend not to have subfloor pits within houses in the protohistoric period, but adopt them with great frequency during the historic period (Wesson 1999:151), which can be interpreted as allowing for new economic exchange and the cultivation of symbolic capital (Wesson 1999:153).

The interpretation of subfloor storage in prehistoric contexts certainly mirrors that of slave contexts. Similar themes of resistance, concealment, food storage, and regional factors all appear in both contexts. Due to this, it might be useful for historical archaeologists to become familiar with the literature on this subject from prehistoric contexts. In addition to offering new ideas for the interpretation of these features it

could also help to explain their adoption by enslaved peoples either by using a creolized model or by applying ideas similar to those of chiefdoms that demand tribute. While slavery and paying tribute to a chief are two completely different cultural contexts, there may be some parallel experiences for people within both cultures that could aid in the interpretation of both contexts. Even if, for some reason, the two contexts are unable to be related to one another, sharing of data and interpretive frameworks certainly will not hurt and will probably improve the work of archaeologists that interact with contexts containing subfloor pits.

Some Thoughts on Interpretation

With all of the interpretive possibilities out there for subfloor pits it is easy to question the usefulness and viability of yet another interpretation or two. However, there has yet to be an explanation that addresses the regional variation in a cultural way and there has yet to be a truly creolized explanation that does not give precedence to one culture or another. There is not enough room to completely defend the possibilities put forth here, but they will be introduced and evidence in their favor will be shown. In order for these interpretations to be adopted as explanations for subfloor pits, however, more research will need to be done, not only in the Chesapeake, but throughout the southeast. The two main interpretations below deal with the origins of pits as a result of creolization and interaction with Native Americans and the use and decline of pits as a result of interaction with the capitalist world system. Neither of these rule out any

other uses or processes taking place as described in previous interpretations, but instead recognize that multiple processes may be occurring simultaneously.

Interaction with Native Americans played a large role in at least the first hundred years of English settlement of Virginia. English expansion encroached upon Native American farmland, relied, in part, on Native American trade for food, and helped to create a creolized society in Virginia. Interaction between slaves and Native Americans from Virginia reservations certainly took place, and may have been more prominent on the middle peninsula and lower peninsula, where two of the three reservations in 1673 existed (Rountree and Turner 2002:160). It appears that the majority of subfloor pits show up in these two areas starting in the late 17th century, which may be because a great deal of archaeology of the 17th century has taken place here, but it could also be a result of a creolization process that took place.

While Native Americans from this period in Virginia did not dig subfloor pits within their houses, there seems to be evidence that they did construct pits to hide valuables. William Strachey, in a visit to an early 17th century Powhatan village mentions pits dug in the woods used to conceal valuables (1953:78-79). If slaves would have had interaction with these people or their descendants they could have taken this idea and modified it for their own purposes, creating a creolized form. Planters from the Tidewater would then expand their holdings into the Piedmont in the 1720's (Morgan 1988:433), moving their creolized slaves to work the land, and thus spreading the phenomenon of subfloor pit usage to that area. The lack of subfloor pits in South Carolina and much of the southeast might be explained by the fact that many of the

slaves who came there were from the Caribbean (Fred Smith, pers. comm.) and thus were already a creolized culture and familiar with the institution of slavery, which may have caused them to be more resistant to creolizing indigenous forms.

The use of these features is agreed upon, in general, as being places for the storage of items whether they be food or personal items. Their meaning is often interpreted in the context of resistance, with the exception of Samford who uses a ritual and more symbolic framework (2007). However, in interpretation there has been very little reference to the capitalist world system, a defining aspect of modernity (Wolf 1982). Borrowing from interpretations of prehistoric pits, it can be said that these pits functioned as places for storing surplus food (Gallivan 2003; Wesson 1999). If this is the case, then it is possible that slaves used these pits to store surplus that they then traded for commodities, such as ceramic vessels, tools, or symbolic objects, amongst themselves or possibly with the master. This might explain the large number of pits within structures as individuals controlling their own surplus and goods, and it could explain the partitions within some pits, an area for food and an area for objects.

The decrease in pits at the end of the 18th century can be explained by the fact that after the Revolution in Virginia slaves begin to sell goods at local markets (Walsh 1993:191). With the integration of slaves as more active members of the capitalist system there is no longer as much of a need to store trade goods and surplus in individual pits since they can sell these goods in a reasonably shorter period of time. The fact that they are also probably receiving money at the market as opposed to

commodities could also help to explain the decrease in pits, as money, in paper or coin, could be easily lost or deteriorate in subfloor storage spaces.

The debate over the use and meaning of subfloor pits in slave contexts is not likely to go away in the near future. As long as archaeologists retain an interest in slavery and excavate slave sites in the upper south these features are likely to keep popping up. Rather than blindly accepting others' interpretations, however, these features should be thoroughly interrogated and interpreted using theoretical frameworks that offer the opportunity to address the emergence of modernity in the world and discuss the influences of multiple cultures on American culture, past and present. In order to look at our present, however, we must also reach back beyond English settlement and examine the prehistoric uses of these features. Prehistoric examples can offer historical archaeologists new ideas to apply to their own contexts as well as serving to strengthen their arguments. The blurring of the line between prehistory and history is, no doubt, a product of a world systems approach to anthropology, but in order to understand the rise of the modern world and the complex interactions that were and are taking place as a result of the spread of capitalism it is necessary examine cultures and draw interpretations from both sides of that imaginary line.

Chapter 3: The Enslaved as Consumers

What are Pits for? A Brief, but Necessary Digression

The function of pits is an important starting place for the discussion of their decline and disappearance. Several different functions have been discussed above from religious spaces to hiding places (Kelso 1984; Singleton 1995; Young 1997; Fesler 2004; Franklin 2004; Samford 2007; Neiman 2008). It is likely that all of these functions took place simultaneously and possibly in the same pit, however for the purpose of this work I would like to focus on them as areas for the storage of surplus food, goods, etc. This paper does not intend to argue for a different function, instead I would rather focus on what the presence and absence of these features over time represent. Essentially, I am seeking to understand the changes taking place in African American culture through subfloor pits. How were slaves creating and maintaining new and changing identities and how can a diachronic study of pits help us interpret these changes, particularly in Virginia? This is not to say that hypotheses put forward in the past are incorrect, in point of fact they are also extremely pertinent to the changes taking place in the creation of an African American culture. It is the purpose of this study to add to these, offer new avenues of inquiry, and make for a richer more nuanced picture of slavery in Colonial America. Therefore, by looking at pits as places for the storage of surplus we begin to wonder why the need for storage space, and possibly surplus, reduces over time. The answer to this question may lie in the role of enslaved peoples in the market economy. If this is true, then the decline of pits may represent the active incorporation of enslaved African Americans into the capitalist economy.

Enslaved Peoples of Virginia and their Role in the Market Economy

In recent years there has been much research done on the internal economy of slavery as well as the role of slaves as consumers (Schlotterbeck 1991; Hudson 1994; Morgan 1998; Penningroth 2003; Heath 2004; Galle 2006; Martin 2008). The majority of this work has focused on the late 18th century in Virginia. However, there is a good deal of evidence that points to the fact that slaves not only participated in an internal economy in the first half of the 18th century but also bought, sold, and traded goods and services with the local community.

Slaves had economic opportunities as early as the mid 17th century through provisioning grounds and hiring out (Galle 2006: 29). They often raised vegetables and small livestock to supplement the rations given to them by their masters. This supplementation was actually expected and seen as beneficial for the master because it not only reduced his costs in providing for his laborers, but kept his workers busy with work to prevent them from getting into trouble (Morgan 1998: 358). Why then are the enslaved not participating in broader economies early on? There may be several answers to this question. First of all, Virginia's economy is heavily reliant on tobacco at this time, a labor intensive crop, which may mean that the enslaved just did not have time to grow enough surplus to trade or sell. Allan Kulikoff argues that this early period of slavery is a time of settling down and adjusting to white norms, another good reason why they may not have been participating in broader economies (1978: 229). However, there are indications that there is at least some trade going on with slaves, evinced by a late 17th century law that made it illegal to trade with servants (Galle 2006: 29). All of this evidence suggests that enslaved peoples participated in the local economy, but still

being somewhat reluctant due to their forced relocation and the lack of community structure needed to maintain market relations. At this time food is likely more important to slaves than consumer goods because they may be worried about starvation or it may be the only currency that is worth anything among other slaves. Since enslaved peoples were not incorporated into consumer culture, goods may not have held much value for them and they may have seen these goods as representative of their enslavement, not having incorporated the commodities into their identity.

Kulikoff points out that by 1740 the population of enslaved peoples had increased enough and communities had been formed that allowed slave society to spread to surrounding communities and create networks (Kulikoff 1978: 250). This is important because it allowed slaves to trade and barter with others from the surrounding communities. In previous decades the rural character of Virginia limited slaves' opportunities for trade and the participation in markets (Morgan 1998: 372). However, as population increased it became easier to interact with others, enslaved or free, and market relationships began to form. Despite a number of laws seeking to limit the purchase of goods from enslaved peoples, goods mostly coming from labor in their free time in gardens, livestock, etc, there is evidence of slaves starting to become major players in local economies. As early as the 1730's, a store in Yorktown indicates slaves trading peas for consumer goods (Martin 2008: 177). Hiring out also became common in the mid 18th century with slaves often being paid in cash for services or being paid for work beyond that expected of them (Penningroth 2003: 53; Galle 2006: 30).

During this period there was also a shift to a more diversified corn and wheat agriculture, crops slightly less labor intensive than tobacco, which may have given enslaved peoples some extra time to work for themselves. This diversification, which included raising livestock, orchards, and engaging in industrial activities, meant that overseers and masters were not always able to supervise their slaves as closely. This led to masters having to bargain trust and authority with the enslaved and thus allow them more free time and choice to engage in market activities (Sanford 1995).Needless to say, the Colonial Assembly passed laws trying to prohibit these exchanges, one in particular in the early 18th century required slaves to receive written permission from their masters to trade, which they were mainly doing with poor whites. This law, however, was often ignored not only by the parties involved in the exchange but by the masters themselves (Martin 2008: 176). The middle of the 18th century seemed to act as a period of important cultural change for African Americans in Virginia. Due to a slow in immigration from Africa they were able to form communities and networks of communities and were beginning to shape their cultural identity as a result (Kulikoff 1978: 229). They began to adopt and transform aspects of white society and culture, such as consumer goods and the economic system. It may have been during this period that they first began to interact more heavily with whites, Native Americans, free blacks, and other slaves. This interaction led to the blending of cultures and gave slaves the opportunity to form a creolized identity, which they did. However, the common theme amongst all of these groups was the capitalist economy, in which slaves began to actively participate through the purchase of consumer goods. This created a rather

ironic situation due to the fact that slaves, commodities in a contemporary sense, were beginning to place importance on European commodities, consumer goods.

The last quarter of the 18th and first quarter of the 19th centuries was a significant time for slave participation in the market economy. Participation by slaves throughout Virginia boomed as evidenced by store ledgers and written accounts (Heath 2004; Martin 2008). Examples of this include several purchases by enslaved peoples in an Orange County shop in 1785 (Heath 2004:28) and slightly earlier the selling of cakes by enslaved peoples on the street in Norfolk (Martin 2008:174). It was during this period of time that slaves fully incorporated themselves into the capitalist system. Their incorporation was due to a number of factors including community growth and stability, the consumer revolution, and the growth of towns in Virginia, among other things. The increase of urbanity in Virginia tends to be credited to the capital that British and Scottish companies were pouring into Virginia as a result of the tobacco trade, causing the number of villages and towns in the colony to more than double from 15 to 34 in the period from 1750-1780 (Kulikoff 1986:122-123). This time is at the very end of Kulikoff's final stage of community development, indicating that slaves in Virginia had complex social networks that were often regional and that they likely had a complex internal economy established (Kulikoff 1978).

As social relationships between enslaved African Americans changed and became more complex so did their material possessions. Perhaps it is no coincidence that at this time local markets became more accessible to slaves. The growth of towns in Virginia led to the creation of markets for people from the surrounding area to buy and

sell goods of all kinds (Morgan 1998: 372). Among these people were slaves who often sold what was accessible to them as surplus. This surplus consisted mainly of vegetables, small livestock, or handicrafts such as baskets (Campbell 1991: 133). These were products that they had been selling or trading almost since their arrival in Virginia in the early 17th century. The difference now, however, was that their goods could reach a broader market. Rather than interacting with only a few people, as would have been the case in earlier periods when geography, community, and various laws restricted a great deal of market participation for them, slaves now could have contact with numbers of different individuals. They could sell their goods to anybody who wanted them, without a doubt they sold to and created at the very least business relationships with whites of varied social classes, enslaved and free African Americans, and Native Americans.

This constant and diverse interaction aided in the creation of a truly African American identity for the enslaved, but no doubt also aided in the creation of an American identity for all involved. These market exchanges also created an interesting power relationship between slaves and others. Normally, on the plantation, slaves were perhaps the least powerful group, in terms of their economic sway, especially in relation to the master. However, at the market slaves find themselves in a position of power as sellers of goods; indeed by the 19th century they account for much of the small livestock and produce sold (Penningroth 2003: 62). The participation of slaves in the economy did not end here, however. They likely received cash money at these markets for their

goods which they then, as good capitalists do, put back into the system through the purchase of goods.

Recent research leaves little doubt as to the roles of slaves as consumers in late 18th and early 19th century Virginia. Store ledgers chronicle these purchasing activities, which seemingly took place on a regular basis (Heath 2004; Martin 2008). While many of the accounts show slaves paying for goods with other goods such as produce there was also a credit system in place and the participation of slaves in markets points to the use of cash for these purchases as well (Schlotterbeck 1991: 177; Heath 2004: 23). While they may not have been able to afford the best things in these stores they were certainly presented with a choice in their purchases. As a result of their incorporation into the capitalist system they gained a greater degree of agency than they previously possessed. It is through these material goods that they could further construct their identity making it more complex than before, and more visible to the archaeologist. The questions, then, are what did they buy and what did these things mean to them?

Many people have written on the meaning of objects to enslaved people, and it is not within the scope of this work to discuss that. Therefore, for the purposes of my paper and analysis I want to focus on what they purchased. Analyses of store ledgers are particularly helpful in answering this question, particularly for the late 18th century and onward. First, it is important to discuss who within the enslaved community was making purchases. From the store accounts it seems that it is mostly single males or males with grown children that are making these purchases (Martin 2008: 175). Often the purchases take place on Sundays at the end of the day, which would coincide well

with the end of the market activity for the day (Heath 2004: 28). It may be that males without young children are purchasing and participating more because they do not have to focus as much on providing for their families and thus have some extra free time and produce to sell or trade (Heath 2004: 26). However, this does not mean that all enslaved people did not have access to consumer goods.

The most common purchases by slaves at stores were textiles (including dresses, cloth, and other clothing), hats, mirrors, buttons, needles, pins, buckles, lead shot, gunpowder, ribbons, sweeteners, and rum (Heath 2004: 29; Martin 2008: 180). These personal adornment items may have been used as ways of maintaining a distinct cultural identity within the enslaved community (Heath 1999a) or depending upon how accessible they were to certain people could have been markers of status (discussed in chapter 5). It is unlikely that all of the objects purchased by a slave at a store would be only for that one slave. There is evidence of multiple slaves buying parts of objects, thus meaning that they would share it, or decide ownership in another way (Heath 2004). Indeed, the slaves that were making purchases at stores likely acted as middlemen for the flow of consumer goods to slaves on the plantation. This would have allowed them to participate in the capitalist economy, but at the same time preserve their internal economy, thus acting as another way to create and maintain a unique identity.

This participation in the consumer economy also allowed for opportunities to create new power relationships among slaves. Access to consumer goods likely became an important part of slave life, which put the middlemen in positions of power, likely making them influential within communities. Display of this newfound wealth also likely

became significant in slave society in order to indicate power and importance to others in certain situations. This is not to say that these goods represented the same things to slaves as they did to white planters, they almost certainly did not. However, access to and control over commodities often means the same thing in any culture, namely power and prestige. Even though slaves did not participate in a free economy like free people did there was probably still a hierarchy that arose concerning those with access to goods versus slaves that had to rely on market participants for goods.

While some of this may be difficult to prove beyond a shadow of a doubt, a good deal of it has been corroborated by archaeological evidence from slave sites throughout Virginia. There does seem to be a relationship between slave sites and adornment items, particularly buttons, buckles, and sewing equipment (Heath 1999a). Evidence of textiles is often not recoverable archaeologically, especially for slave related sites in Virginia where the acidic soil and ubiquitous plowing aid in the rapid deterioration of these materials, but the historical record shows that textiles were indeed important to slaves. This trend toward becoming incorporated into the consumer economy and the capitalist system, however, does not stop at material culture, but can also be seen in the features most often associated with slave quarters in Virginia, subfloor pits.

Chapter 4: A Disappearing Act

The decline of Subfloor pits in Virginia and how it relates to Capitalism.

Neiman's research at Monticello has suggested that the frequency of subfloor pits on Jefferson's plantation declines through time (Neiman 1997, 2001, 2004, 2008). He cites the fact that the development of family life led to this decline using a model based upon game theory (Neiman 2004: 5). He is able to do this by focusing on subfloor pits as types of safety deposit boxes (see chapter 2 for a more thorough discussion). Many archaeologists seem to agree with Neiman's assertion that pit frequency decreases over time, but, to my knowledge, no data has been synthesized and published in Virginia or even the Chesapeake region to support this assertion.

To test the hypothesis that subfloor pits do, in fact, decrease in frequency over time 116 structures from Virginia interpreted as slave buildings were examined. These structures range in date from ca. 1675-ca. 1843 and occur from the tidewater to the piedmont regions of the state. To make the analysis smoother these structures were assigned a construction date, which consisted of the earliest occupation date for the structure as described in the report for the site. Clearly, the assignment of a single date may be a point of contention; however, to balance this out, the analysis was done by grouping structures into time periods of roughly 20 and 60 years, which would certainly have caught the construction date for the majority, if not all, of the structures.

The structures were grouped first into roughly 60 year time periods consisting of 1670-1730, 1731-1790, and 1791-1850 (Figure 1, p. 43). The average number of pits per structure was then calculated within each time period and the results were graphed. Through this 180 year period the average number of pits within a single structure declined from 3.8 in the early period to 2.3 in the middle period and finally to a mere .4

in the late period. This means that the number of pits per structure showed a 39% decline from the early to the middle periods, but from the middle to late period that decline more than doubled to 80% over the same amount of time. The decline is most significant between the first two periods as indicated by a t-value of 1.838, meaning that there is between 90% and 95% confidence that the frequency of subfloor pits within a single structure dropped between these two periods. Overall, the decline indicates that something is changing in African American culture from 1670-1850 and is manifesting itself in the frequency of subfloor pits. The sharp decline between the two latter periods seems to indicate that this change has all but completely permeated the society of enslaved African Americans. The large time periods in this stage of the analysis simply indicate a major change occurring between about 1760-1820. This is still a large period of time, so the time period in the analysis were reduced in order to better pinpoint this sharp decline in the frequency of subfloor pits.

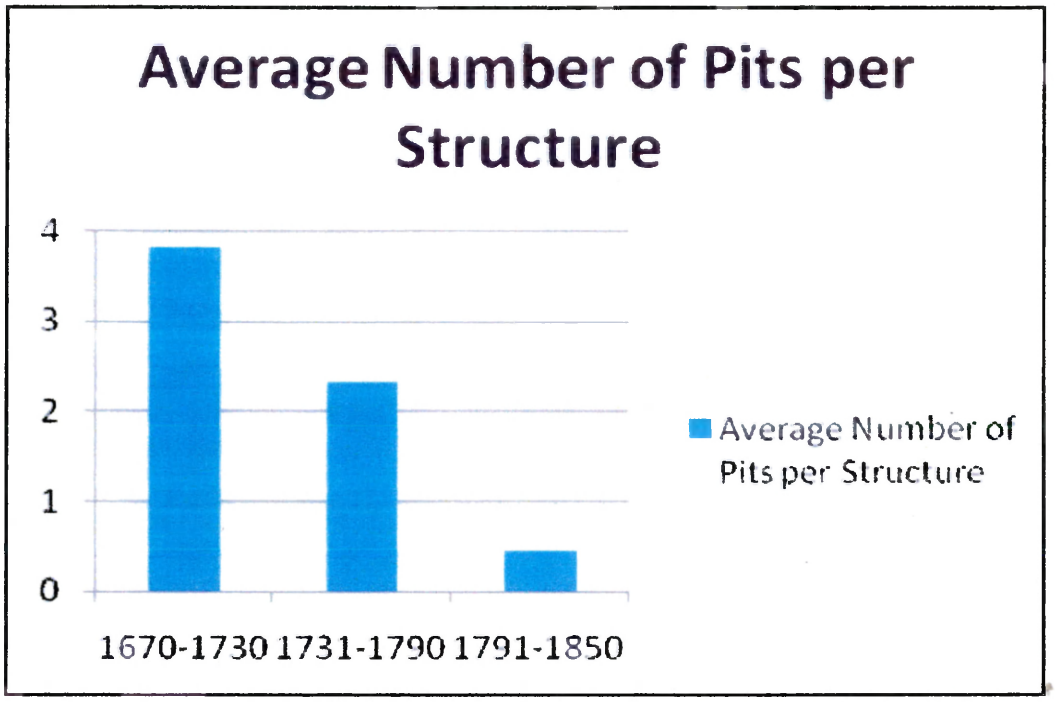

Figure 1: Average Number of Pits Per Structure in Three Long Periods.

The data was subdivided into 7 shorter periods consisting of 1670-1710, 1711-1730, 1731-1750, 1751-1770, 1771-1790, 1791-1810, and 1811-1843 (Figure 2, p. 45). The first and last periods cover a longer period of time due to the fact that many of the dates cluster on one end of the period which would have caused shorter periods to be artificially high or low due to the lack of structures dating to those times. As a result of this the data was examined both including and excluding the first and last time periods. The same steps in analysis were performed on this data set as the first. This graph yielded similar results to the first, showing a general trend of decrease in frequency over time. However, the earliest time period, 1670-1710, was actually lower than the period immediately after, an interesting observation that will be addressed below. The latest time period, 1811-1843, follows the decreasing pattern, but actually accounts for the length of two periods so it was not heavily relied on for the analysis other than to

indicate that the pattern of decrease continues into the 19th century. With these two periods removed the analysis of subfloor pit frequency focuses on the 18th century, particularly 1711-1810. Within these 100 years pit frequency falls from 4.3 pits per structure to 0.5. The second and third periods, 1731-1750 and 1751-1770, show decreases of 21% and 14%, respectively. In the period of 1771-1790, however, there is a significant drop in frequency of 43%, possibly indicating the beginning of a major change in African American culture. This observation is also supported by a t-value of 4.199 comparing the 1751-1770 and 1771-1790 periods. The high t-value indicates that there is greater than 99.99% confidence that the frequency of subfloor pits dropped between these two periods. The decrease in frequency from 1791-1810 is even greater, 67%. Both of these numbers indicate a sharp decline in the frequency of subfloor pits that takes place over a 40 year period starting around 1770, but possibly as early as 1751, and taking off by 1790. With the date for this change narrowed to the last quarter of the 18th century interpretations for the decline of subfloor pits and its relationship to African American culture can be formulated.

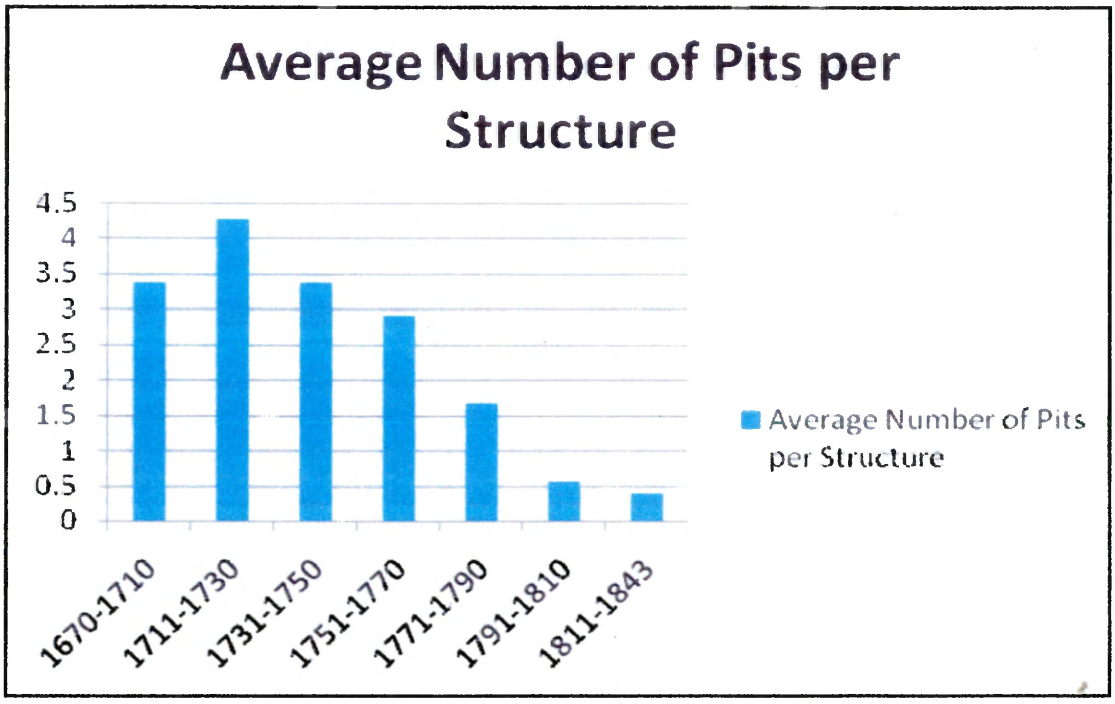

Figure 2: Average Number of Pits Per Structure in Seven Short Periods.

What Does it Mean?

The first pattern in the data that should be focused upon for interpretation is perhaps the most obvious, the fact that the frequency of pits per structure decreases over time. By looking at this, the question of what is constantly changing in the culture of enslaved African Americans from 1670-1850 comes to mind. This question, however, leads to many possible answers. However, one overarching answer that covers this entire period is the formation of a distinct African American identity in Virginia. This identity was formed through the creation of community and family bonds that strengthened throughout the entire 180 years in question, particularly through the 18th century as evidenced by Kulikoff (1978: 229). With this, a similar conclusion to Neiman's is reached, essentially, that subfloor pits decrease with the formation of community and familial ties.

If this hypothesis is relied on then there should seemingly be a gradual decrease in pits over time with the strengthening of community through each successive generation. This, however, does not seem to be the case, as subfloor pits sharply drop in frequency over a brief 40 year period, about two generations. More likely than not, this does not indicate that the African American community reached its peak all of a sudden. This 40 year period is the key to understanding the changes that took place in African American culture leading to the decline of subfloor pits in slave housing. There are a number of important processes and events taking place from 1770-1810 that are shaping not only African American culture, but American culture as well including crop diversification, the American Revolution and the increasing industrialization stemming from it, and the formation of the United States. However, one process, among many others, fits well with the gradual decline and then steep drop of pit frequency in the dwellings of enslaved African Americans. This process is the spread of capitalism throughout the world, and particularly the consumer revolution.

Pit frequency is related to this in that it is indicative of the incorporation and active participation of enslaved African Americans in the capitalist market economy. The role of slaves as consumers can be traced through the frequency of subfloor pits in Virginia and possibly throughout the rest of the colonies. This interpretation, however, relies on looking at pits as areas for the storage of surplus in the form of food, goods, money, etc. While pits likely served many functions, it is my assertion, for the purpose of this study, that their main function was for storing surplus food, goods, etc. With this in mind the question of why the need for surplus decreases over time arises.

From 1670-1730 the average number of pits in a single structure is 3.8. This clearly indicates a need for a greater amount of surplus, likely in the form of food at this point. This relates to community development because early on slaves do not possess tight knit communities where they can rely on one another if food supply becomes short or some similar problem arises (Kulikoff 1978: 229). In the earliest time period they are essentially on their own and must depend on what is given to them by the master, which is very little, and what they can grow and store themselves as community structure does not yet allow for widespread sharing of resources. Therefore, pits have to be able hold a great deal of food and keep it edible for somewhat long periods of time. The gradual decrease in frequency through this early time period and into the middle period indicates the formation of communities among the enslaved. Pits are not needed in such a frequency because slaves begin to rely on commerce with other slaves on and off of their plantation as well as with free people, but to a lesser degree, as indicated by laws prohibiting it (Hudson 1994:79; Martin 2008: 176). In addition to this, the enslaved in this early period likely did not possess a strong sense of individuality. The slave system suppressed this and pits may have been a way to foster this individuality by having a place for one's own things, even if they were few or only in the form of food.

It is during the early part of the middle period, 1730-1790, that slaves begin to participate in the market economy selling or trading produce or small livestock or hiring out to earn money or trade for consumer goods as indicated in store ledgers (Schlotterbeck 1991: 177; Heath 2004; Martin 2008:176-177). Close control of their

own food supply becomes less significant as access to food becomes easier for them through trade with merchants, free persons, or other slaves in addition to pooling of resources becoming more widespread on the plantation. This second period serves as the most important in understanding the incorporation of slaves into the capitalist market economy and its relation to subfloor pit frequency. Pit frequency continues to decrease gradually through this period for the reasons mentioned above, but by 1770 it declines greatly.

Interestingly, it is around this time that slaves begin to show up in greater numbers in store ledgers as purchasing commodities and the historical record begins to indicate their presence at local markets selling their goods (Campbell 1991; Morgan 1998; Heath 2004; Martin 2008). The 40 years between 1770 and 1810 represent the complete incorporation of slaves into the capitalist economy through their participation in local markets and their purchase of commodities, discussed at length above. With this sort of participation in capitalism, the storage of great amounts of surplus becomes unnecessary as slaves now have access to food or whatever they may need at a store or market and have strong enough communities to permit widespread sharing. It may also be likely that with the ability to purchase food on a somewhat regular basis that more perishable items were eaten and thus a medium to long term storage space fell out of favor for more short term storage areas such as shelves or even chests. The idea of individuality can play into this decline as well. As purchasing goods and food becomes more common among the enslaved they are able to begin to set themselves apart from others by using consumer items, particularly personal adornment items, thus reducing

the need for subfloor storage. Symbolically, subfloor pits no longer mean the same thing and functionally there is not as much need for individual, conspicuous storage. At this point individuality can be expressed through clothes or other items that can be worn at all times and are unique to each person. Subfloor pits continued to decrease and almost disappear after 1810.

The continued decline of subfloor pits may have several explanations in relation to greater access to consumer goods and the market. In the first period the greater frequency of pits may indicate the more ubiquitous storage of food by individuals. This individual storage may stem from the fact that communities are less cohesive as a result of having just been brought to the New World from different tribes and cultures, thus leading to unwillingness to pool resources and a need to distinguish themselves from others. The fact that there are so many pits shows a tendency to store food or goods for medium to long periods of time and to have discrete storage for one or two individuals. This can indicate that the enslaved are dealing with a stressful situation, in which they have little power, by preserving resources, and thus possibly giving themselves a sense of security and/or exercising a degree of control over their situations so that they are not completely reliant on their masters' rations of food. As a part of the first period of subfloor pit frequency there is a brief period when pit frequency is lower at the beginning. This could be explained by the fact that it is so early on in the slave trade in Virginia that the enslaved are just beginning to come up with the idea of pits as mechanisms for coping with stress or resistance, and may point

to the explanation of pits as truly creolized forms, which only arise after a certain amount of time in Virginia defined by interactions with other cultures.

The two periods marking the decline of subfloor pits, starting around the mid 18th century, indicate shifting attitudes and cultural changes among African Americans brought on by their participation in the capitalist economy. The decline may be explained by changing access to food, new forms of resistance brought on by consumerism, and more stable communities being formed. With greater access to markets and stores it is probable and recorded that enslaved Virginians began to purchase food and goods (Heath 2004; Martin 2008). More free time and thus greater opportunities for market behavior, stemming, in part, from agricultural diversification meant that access to markets likely became more regular. This increased regularity meant that African Americans had the opportunity to purchase and consume more perishable foods, or at least no longer needed larger-sized medium to long term storage spaces provided by pits when a shelf or chest could do just as well in holding up to a week's worth of food. In addition to this, enslaved communities were more strongly developed starting in the mid 18th century (Kulikoff 1978), which likely meant greater occurrences of sharing or pooling resources, and less need for several large storage spaces. Finally, as a means of resistance through identity maintenance, pits may have fallen out of favor due to the increased access to consumer goods, particularly adornment items, which would not require such a need for subfloor storage due to the fact that they were often unique to their owner. Gradually, consumer items seem to have replaced pits as forms of resistance through the creation of distinct African

American identities. The increased use of consumer goods and decrease of subfloor pits clearly indicates how the enslaved population of Virginia incorporated itself into the capitalist system and, like other participants in that system, began to use it to create, maintain, and change their own unique identity.

This, however, did not temper the harshness of slavery for African Americans, they were by no means any closer to being free as their choices were still limited and their participation was limited in comparison to that of free people. However, it did offer a measure of calculated independence that was beneficial to the master and slave. With their participation in the market and ability to provide mostly for themselves slaves likely gained a sense of independence, albeit very limited, and masters saved money by not having to provide nearly as much in the way of food, clothing, and other goods. This was a truly important step in the creation of African American identity. By incorporating themselves into, participating in, and relying on the capitalist economy they truly became Americans in a modern sense, as our lives today are completely saturated with the effects of capitalism, for better or worse, theirs too started on this path. With this newfound incorporation into the world of the consumer, the objects possessed by slaves almost certainly took on new meaning and changed. Subfloor pits offer a diachronic view of the incorporation of slaves into the capitalist economy, while the goods purchased by the enslaved can offer a synchronic view of the same process that is taking place.

Chapter 5: Three Case Studies

In addition to the frequency of subfloor pits indicating the incorporation of slaves into the capitalist economy as consumers, certain artifacts found within these features can help to support the ideas set forth about consumer behavior and its relation to pits. Artifacts that indicate consumerism would most often be small finds from a subfloor pit. These objects include personal adornment items, such as buttons, buckles, and beads, items related to personal food production and procurement, such as gunflint, gun parts, fishing hooks, and agricultural tools, coins, or any other object likely purchased rather than issued or rationed, such as medicine bottles. Items mentioned in store ledgers are also very helpful in seeing the effects of consumerism and being able to relate it to specific objects.

The assemblages from the subfloor pits of three sites were examined in this section in order to illustrate the possible relationship between the amount of consumer goods in pits and slave incorporation into the market over time. The three sites were selected because the construction dates fell within one of the three periods mentioned above in the frequency analysis. The earliest site, 44JC32, dated from 1700-1750 and fell within the first frequency period 1670-1730; this site contained multiple pits within structures, as is relatively common for this period (Fesler 2004a). The middle site, Ferry Farm Structure C, dated from 1760-1775 falling well within the range of the middle frequency period, 1731-1790 (Muraca [2004]). The latest site, Monticello Building S, dated from 1794-1831, firmly putting it in the final frequency period of 1791-1850 (Sanford 1995); this site, like the Ferry Farm structure, contained only a single pit. The

fact that two of the three sites analyzed contained only one pit seemed as if it might bias the results since the assemblages being compared would not be equal in the sense that 44JC32 would contain the assemblages from multiple pits. Therefore, a single pit, designated feature 36, was selected from 44JC32 and its assemblage was compared with the other two to make the analysis slightly more balanced.

Before the analysis, however a brief background on the excavation of these sites is necessary. 44JC32 was excavated between 1994 and 1996 by the James River Institute for Archaeology, Inc. (JRIA) on behalf of Anheuser-Busch who planned on developing the land. The excavation we led by Dr. Garrett Fesler and the site is located in James City County, Virginia. Additionally, and most importantly, 100% of the soil from the subfloor pit features was floated (DAACS 2009a). Ferry Farm Structure C was excavated between 2002 and 2003 as part of the archaeology program at the George Washington Foundation, which has focused upon the search for Washington-related structures and sites. Dave Muraca led the excavation of this site, located in Southern Stafford County, Virginia directly across the Rappahannock from Fredericksburg. During the excavation 100% of the soil removed from the pit was water-screened through 1/8" mesh. Finally, Building S and Building T at Monticello were excavated in 1983 and 1984-1985, respectively. The excavation of these sites was a part of the archaeology program at Monticello which sought to understand the landscape of Monticello during Jefferson's tenure at the property near Charlottesville, Virginia. The research was led by Dr. William Kelso and Dr. Douglas Sanford. The matrix from the subfloor pits was not screened, but carefully hand-troweled (DAACS 2009b; DAACS 2009c).

Figure 3: Subfloor Pit in Ferry Farm Structure C (George Washington Foundation).

The analysis was performed by examining the artifact assemblages and counting up the artifacts that could be indicative of consumer practices as described above, excluding ceramics. These counts were then divided by the total number of artifacts within their respective assemblages which produced a percentage of possible consumer related goods (Figure 4, p. 56). Interestingly these percentages, when graphed mirrored the three period frequency graph for subfloor pits in Virginia. The percentage of possible consumer related goods in feature 36 at 44JC32 was 0.58%, Ferry Farm Structure C was 1.31%, and Monticello building S was 1.78%. The χ^2 statistic for this data set is 17.698, indicating that the difference between these three sites in respect to consumer artifact percentages is very significant ($p<.001$). This increase in consumer related goods over time is a mirror image of pit frequency, which decreases through time. If, in fact, slaves are participating more in the market economy over time and

becoming consumers this pattern of increasing amounts of consumer related artifacts would be expected. A 1.2% increase over the course of almost 100 years may not seem to be very much at first. However, this increase may be even greater, but more difficult to see due to the types of goods purchased or obtained. According to several store ledgers slaves tended to purchase adornment items, such as cloth, hats, shoes, and other goods that may not show up in the archaeological record (Heath 2004: 29; Martin 2008: 180). An additional 12 buttons in an assemblage of 1000 artifacts, 1.2%, could possibly indicate three or more shirts or coats, but leaves the two hats, pair of shoes, bolt of cloth and ribbons that a slave might also have possessed invisible. Also, if a slave had purchased these goods it is unlikely that they would be disposed of without good reason, and thus be visible to archaeologists. Essentially, what is seen in an assemblage from a subfloor pit is likely only a small fraction of what slaves actually possessed and either lost or disposed of. Therefore, an approximately one percent increase in consumer related artifacts over time may be significant because it indicates that consumer goods are more accessible to the enslaved since their presence in assemblages more than doubled from 0.58% to 1.78%.

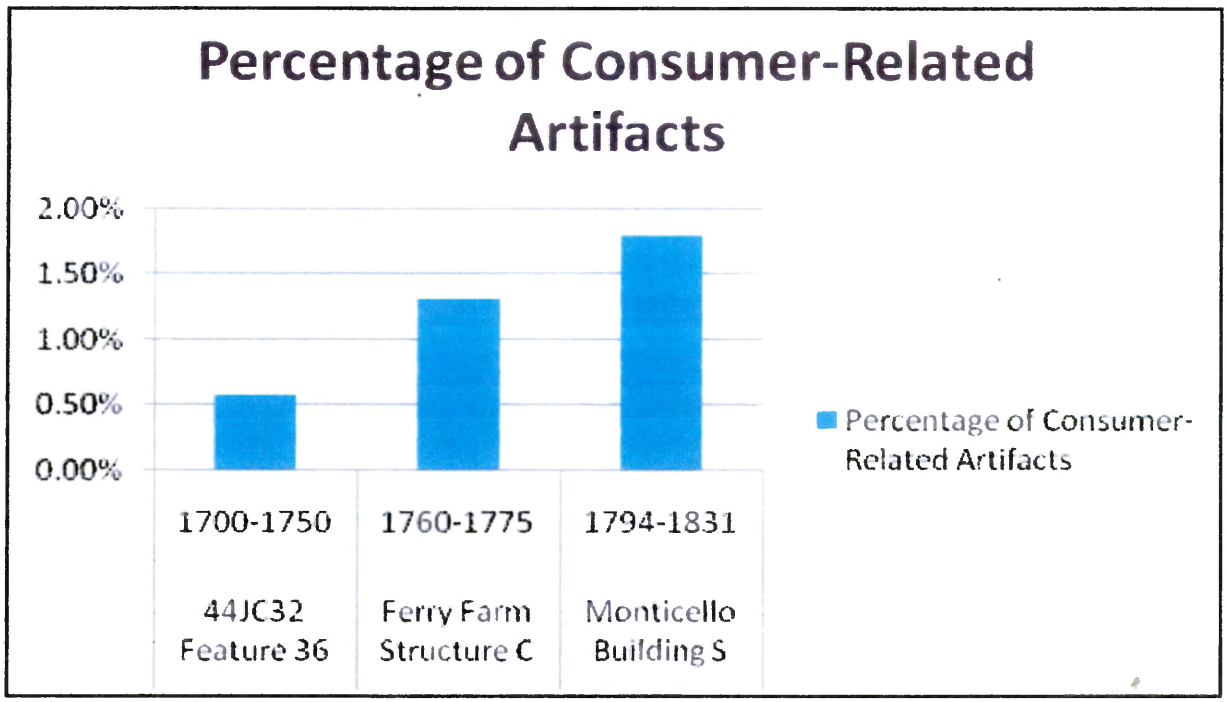

Figure 4: Relative Percentage of Consumer Related Artifacts in Three Subfloor Pits.

With all of this being said, however, the fact that only three assemblages were analyzed must be taken into account. While these three sites do indicate that consumer goods increase through the 18th century in subfloor pit assemblages more work needs to be done to support this. A quick analysis of Monticello Building T (Sanford 1995), dating from 1794-1831, showed that its consumer related artifact percentage was 11.85%, much higher than that of building S (Figure 5, p. 57). The χ^2 statistic was also much higher, 259.729, indicating that the difference between these three sites in respect to consumer artifact percentages is very significant ($p<.001$). In order to see if there is a pattern in this data a large sample of pit assemblages should be divided into the three frequency periods described above then their consumer related artifact percentages should be averaged. It would also be helpful to compare total slave related assemblages using this method, rather than just the pits, which could offer a broader and more

complete view of consumer activity among the enslaved. If artifacts from enslaved contexts are viewed in relation to market participation it can open up many new avenues of inquiry and make the interpretation of slavery in Virginia even more nuanced and complex than it already is, thereby reflecting the complex lives that enslaved Africans experienced for over two hundred years in the Old Dominion and throughout British North America.

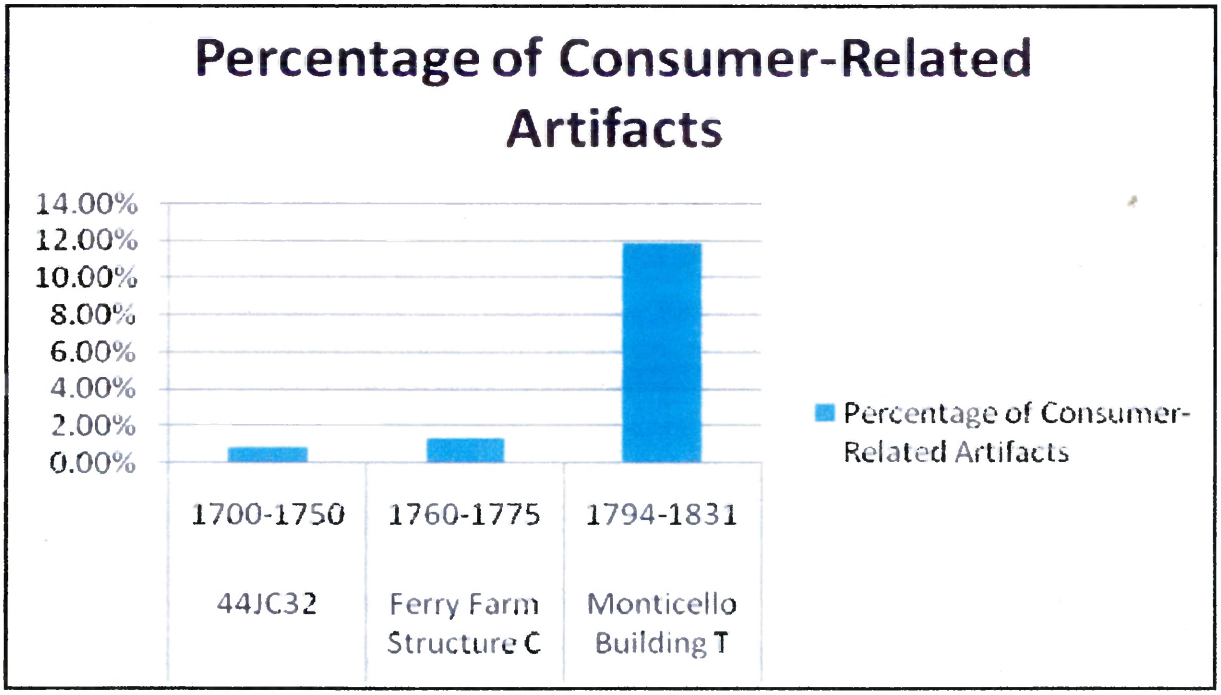

Figure 5: Relative Percentage of Consumer Related Artifacts Showing Variation in the Third Period.

Chapter 6: Looking Ahead by Looking Back

Why do subfloor pits continue to be a point of contention among archaeologists in the Chesapeake and throughout much of the south? They have been found at sites related to enslaved African Americans since at least 1966 (Noel Hume 1966). It seems easy to assume that archaeologists or historians would have figured out their meaning

by now and moved on. However, with more evidence that is collected and more pits that are excavated, we seem to know less and less, or change what we think. Indeed, this is the nature of all archaeology and it is what keeps archaeologists interested in what they do, even if it is studying a seemingly insignificant hole in the ground. The more data that is collected the easier it is to change interpretation because something new is always coming to light. Even the way an archaeologist looks at the data can change interpretation. For example, Patricia Samford looked at the contents of pits in a synchronic fashion then drew out broad interpretations about African American culture (Samford 2007). I, on the other hand, have tried to look at pits in a diachronic way and talk about change in African American culture and its relationship to broader global processes over the course of the 18th century. Is one of these methods more correct or truer than the other? Absolutely not, for they both cause us to think about the past and its relation to our modern lives and what that past can teach us about the world today. By understanding where we come from and what forces have acted upon us in the past it is easier to see why we are the way we are and where we are going in the future.

A more pertinent topic for this paper to address, however, is the question of where the study of subfloor pits and slavery is going in the future. No doubt these features will continue to be studied and argued over by archaeologists in the Chesapeake and this paper will only be one in a collection of numerous treatises on the function and meaning of these artifacts of African American culture. For future work, however, it will become important to look at what has been done already, meaning a focus upon the synthesis and interpretation of existing collections. The amount and

accessibility of data to archaeologists working today is almost inconceivable, even for such an esoteric thing as a subfloor pit. Databases, such as the Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery (DAACS), have made it easier than ever to analyze large amounts of data and compare them. With all of this collected information we can now look at processes that take place over centuries even within a single culture. The possibilities with this kind of access and data are seemingly endless. This, however, does not mean that we should stop excavating. Indeed, there are sites, cultures, and areas that need more study, and there are always threatened sites. We should think about the amount of information that is already out there though, and what can be done with it. This paper has built on the work of countless archaeologists over the past 40 years. Data was synthesized, analyzed, and interpretations were made without ever touching a trowel to a subfloor pit. This is the future of archaeology and of subfloor pits. As archaeologists we have a responsibility to preserve sites and to constantly question and re-interpret what we have done in the past. It is this sort of attitude that will carry archaeology and the bottomless study of subfloor pits into the future and beyond.

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Appendices

Sites with Subfloor Pits in Virginia

Site Name	Construction Date	# Sub-floor pits	Number of Structures	Citation
Atkinson Quarter - South quarter	1675	2	1	Sanford et al. [2009]
Utopia I Quarter - Utopia Cottage	1675	0	1	Fesler 2004a
Governor's Land Quarters - Structure 104	1680	14	1	Fesler 2004a
Kingsmill Tenement - /Structure 5	1680	3	1	Fesler 2004a
Structure 10 - Utopia II	1700	12	1	Fesler 2004a
Structure 1 - Utopia II	1700	6	1	Fesler 2004a
Jordan's Journey - Structure 15	1700	4	1	Mouer et al. 1992; McLearen & Mouer 1994; Fesler 2004a
Fairfield Quarter 1	1700	2	1	Brown & Harpole 2003
Bray Kitchen, Structure 1	1700	2	1	Fesler 2004a
Governor's Land Quarters - Structure 103b	1700	2	1	Fesler 2004a
Atkinson Site - North quarter	1700	2	1	Fesler 2004a;
Fairfield Quarter 2	1700	1	1	Brown & Harpole 2003
Structure 20 - Utopia II	1700	1	1	Fesler 2004a
Governor's Land Quarters - Structure 103a	1700	1	1	Fesler 2004a
Bray Kitchen, Structure 2	1700	0	1	Fesler 2004a
Building 68AP - Richneck Plantation	1710	2	1	Agbe-Davies 1999; Franklin 1997
Woodward Jones - Structure 2	1720	2	1	Fesler 2004a
Stonehouse Quarter - Structure 2	1720	10	1	Fesler 2004a
Newport News Farm Park - #1	1720	8	1	Fesler 2004a

Tutter's Neck	1720	4	1	Fesler 2004a; Samford 1996, 1999
Littletown Quarter - Structure 2	1720	4	1	Fesler 2004a
Flowerdew - Site 98, Christine	1720	4	1	Fesler 2004a
Governor's Land, Clay Site, Quarter	1720	3	1	Fesler 2004a
Woodward Jones - Structure 1	1720	3	1	Fesler 2004a
Littletown Quarter - Structure 1	1720	2	1	Kelso 1984; Fesler 2004a
Quarter Site	1720	1	1	Fesler 2004a
Harbor View - Structure 27	1720	1	1	Fesler 2004a
George Washington's Birthplace - Structure 11	1720	1	1	Pogue & White 1994; Fesler 2004a
Structure 50 - Utopia III	1725	17	1	Fesler 2004a
Structure 40 - Utopia III	1725	3	1	Fesler 2004a
Kitchen Quarter - Curles Plantation	1730	1	1	Samford 1996, 1999
Building 68AL - Richneck Plantation	1740	15	1	Agbe-Davies 1999; Franklin 1997
Field Quarter - Curles Plantation	1740	4	1	Mouer et al. 1992; Fesler 2004a
Bray Quarter	1740	4	1	Kelso 1984; Fesler 2004a; Samford 1996, 1999
Palace Lands	1747	1	1	Franklin n.d.
Structure 150 - Utopia IV	1750	1	1	Fesler 2004a
Structure 160 - Utopia IV	1750	1	1	Fesler 2004a
Southall's Quarter- Structure 3	1750	1	1	Pullins et al. 2003; Fesler 2004a
Site 7 - Monticello Plantation	1750	0	1	Bon-Harper et al. 2004; Bon-Harper & Wheeler 2005, 2006
House for Families - Mount Vernon Plantation	1759	1	1	Pogue 2003; Pogue & White 1991
Ferry Farm Structure C	1760	1	1	Muraca et al. [2004]
Stonehouse Quarter - Structure 3	1760	10	1	Fesler 2004a
Wilton- Structure 1	1760	9	1	Fesler 2004a; Higgins III et, al. 2000
Kingsmill Quarter - Structure 2	1760	6	1	Fesler 2004a
Stonehouse Quarter - Structure 1	1760	6	1	Fesler 2004a

Hampton Key	1760	5	1	Kelso 1984; Fesler 2004a
Wilton- Structure 6	1760	4	1	Fesler 2004a
Negro Quarter - Monticello Plantation	1770	4	1	Kelso et al. 1985; Sanford 1995
House 1, Site 8 - Monticello Plantation	1770	3	1	Bon-Harper et al. 2004; Bon-Harper & Wheeler 2005, 2006
House 2, Site 8 - Monticello Plantation	1770	2	1	Bon-Harper et al. 2004; Bon-Harper & Wheeler 2005, 2006
House 4, Site 8 - Monticello Plantation	1770	2	1	Bon-Harper et al. 2004; Bon-Harper & Wheeler 2005, 2006
House 3, Site 8 - Monticello Plantation	1770	1	1	Bon-Harper et al. 2004; Bon-Harper & Wheeler 2005, 2006
North Hill - Poplar Forest Plantation	1770	1	1	Fesler 2004a
Shirley Plantation, Cabin C	1770	0	1	Jones 1980
Shirley Plantation, Cabin D	1770	0	1	Jones 1980
Stratford Hall Plantation- Slave Quarters 1	1770	0	1	Neiman 1977
Stratford Hall Plantation- Slave Quarters 2	1770	0	1	Neiman 1977
ST116 - Stratford Hall Plantation	1770	0	1	Sanford 1999
Richneck Plantation - Structure B	1775	3	1	Fesler 2004a
Building o - Monticello Plantation	1775	2	1	Kelso et al. 1984; Sanford 1995
Building l - Monticello Plantation	1775	0	1	Kelso 1982; Sanford 1995; Scholnik et al. 2001
Structure 2- Waverly	1777	1	1	Sanford et al. [2009]
Structure 4- Waverly	1777	1	1	Sanford et al. [2009]
Carter's Grove, House B	1780	13	1	Fesler 2004a
Southall's Quarter- Structure 2	1780	9	1	Pullins et al. 2003, Fesler 2004a
Carter's Grove, House A	1780	2	1	Kelso 1973, 1984; Fesler 2004a
North Quarter at Kingsmill	1780	2	1	Kelso 1984; Fesler 2004a; Samford 1996, 1999
Southall's Quarter- Structure 1	1780	2	1	Pullins et al. 2003, Fesler 2004a
Carter's Grove, House C	1780	1	1	Fesler 2004a

Pope Site - Structure 2	1780	1	1	Fesler 2004a; Reinhart 1987
Building m - Monticello Plantation	1780	0	1	Kelso 1982; Sanford 1995
Magnolia Grange - Structure 1A	1780	0	1	Mouer 1992; Fesler 2004a; Samford 1996, 1999
Piney Grove- Structure 1	1782	1	1	Higgins III and Downing 1993
Piney Grove- Structure 5	1782	1	1	Higgins III and Downing 1993
Structure 1, Quarter Site - Poplar Forest Plantation	1790	3	1	Heath 1999b
Wilton- Structure 2	1790	2	1	Higgins III et al. 2000
Wilton- Structure 3	1790	2	1	Higgins III et al. 2000
Wilton- Structure 4	1790	1	1	Higgins III et al. 2000
Wilton- Structure 5	1790	1	1	Higgins III et al. 2000
Structure 2, Quarter Site - Poplar Forest Plantation	1790	1	1	Heath 1999b
Structure 3, Quarter Site - Poplar Forest Plantation	1790	0	1	Heath 1999b
Area A	1790	0	1	Sanford et al. [2009]
Area E	1790	0	1	Sanford et al. [2009]
Slave Quarter- Woodland Plantation	1790	0	1	Sanford et al. [2009]
Slave Quarter- Bradley	1790	0	1	Sanford et al. [2009]
Chopawamsic Farm Slave Quarter	1790	0	1	Sanford et al. [2009]
Rippon Hall Plantation- Slave Quarters	1790	0	1	Sanford et al. [2009]
Building s - Monticello Plantation	1794	1	1	Gruber 1990; Kelso et al. 1985; Sanford 1995
Building t - Monticello Plantation	1794	1	1	Gruber 1990; Kelso et al. 1985; Sanford 1995
Building r - Monticello Plantation	1794	0	1	Gruber 1990; Kelso et al. 1984; Sanford 1995
Elizabeth Hemings - Monticello Plantation	1795	0	1	Neiman et al. 2000
Structure 1 - Gilliam Farm	1800	1	1	Samford 1996, 1999
Structure 7 - Monroe Farm	1800	1	1	Fesler 2004a; Samford 1996, 1999
Structure 3, Kitchen Quarter - Gilliam Farm	1800	0	1	Fesler 2004a

Stratford Hall Plantation- Stone Quarters	1800	0	1	Neiman 1977
Slave Quarter- Moore Hoff Farm	1810	2	1	Pullins et al. 1998
Structure 1 - Pamplin 1	1810	0	1	Mouer et al. 1994
Structure 2 - Pamplin 1	1810	0	1	Mouer et al. 1994
Magnolia Grange - Structure 1B	1820	3	1	Mouer 1992; Fesler 2004a; Samford 1996, 1999
Kentland Plantation- Slave Quarters	1820	1	1	Eddins 1998
Pohoke Quarter - Portici Plantation - Structure 1	1820	1	1	Parker & Hernigle 1990; Fesler 2004a
Cellar Quarter - Portici Plantation	1820	0	1	Parker & Hernigle 1990 Samford 1996, 1999
Brownsville- Structure 3	1820	0	1	Galke 1992
Structure 3	1825	1	1	Sanford et al. [2009]
Red House Farm Slave Quarters- Structure 1	1825	0	1	Sanford et al. [2009]
Red House Farm Slave Quarters- Structure 2	1825	0	1	Sanford et al. [2009]
Red House Farm Slave Quarters- Structure 3	1825	0	1	Sanford et al. [2009]
Red House Farm Slave Quarters- Structure 4	1825	0	1	Sanford et al. [2009]
Red House Farm Slave Quarters- Structure 5	1825	0	1	Sanford et al. [2009]
Willcox House	1830	0	1	McKee 1988; Fesler 2004a
Ben Lomond Manor Slave Quarter	1830	0	1	Klein 1979
Structure 8 - Monroe Farm	1830	0	1	Fesler 2004a
Structure 9 - Monroe Farm	1830	0	1	Fesler 2004a
Valentine House	1830	0	1	Samford 1996; Fesler 2004a
Structure 2	1835	1	1	Sanford et al. [2009]
Shirley Plantation, House A	1843	0	1	Reinhart 1984; Fesler 2004a
Total		261	116	

Charts for Subfloor Pit Frequencies

Time Period	Average Number of Pits per Structure	Structures
1670-1730	3.806451613	31
1731-1770	3.037037037	27
1771-1843	1.051724138	58

Time Period	Average Number of Pits	Structures	T-Value
1670-1730	3.806451613	31	
1731-1790	2.321428571	56	1.838
1791-1850	0.448275862	29	0.333

Time Period	Average Pits Per Structure	Structures	T-Value
1670-1710	3.375	16	
1711-1730	4.266666667	15	-0.59
1731-1750	3.375	8	0.446
1751-1770	2.894736842	19	1.139
1771-1790	1.655172414	29	4.199
1791-1810	0.545454545	11	1.294
1811-1843	0.388888889	18	0.548

Artifact Data Charts for Case Studies[1]

Site	Time Period	Percentage of Consumer-Related Artifacts
44JC32	1700-1750	0.88%
Ferry Farm Structure C	1760-1775	1.31%
Monticello Building S	1794-1831	1.78%

Site	Time Period	Percentage of Consumer-Related Artifacts
44JC32 Feature 36	1700-1750	0.58%
Ferry Farm Structure C	1760-1775	1.31%
Monticello Building S	1794-1831	1.78%

Site	Time Period	Percentage of Consumer-Related Artifacts
44JC32	1700-1750	0.88%
Ferry Farm Structure C	1760-1775	1.31%
Monticello Building T	1794-1831	11.85%

Actual Values			
	# Consumer	# Non-Consumer	Total #
Ferry Farm Structure C	50	3755	3805
44JC32 Feature 36	27	4664	4691
Monticello Building S	15	830	845
Total #	92	9249	9341

[1] Artifact Data for 44JC32 Feature 36, Monticello Building S, and Monticello Building T from DAACS (DAACS 2008). Data for Ferry Farm Structure C from the George Washington Foundation (George Washington Foundation 2008).

Expected Values			
	# Consumer	# Non-Consumer	Total #
Ferry Farm Structure C	37.47565	3767.524	3805
44JC32 Feature 36	46.20191	4644.798	4691
Monticello Building S	8.322449	836.6776	845
Total #	92	9249	9341

χ^2=17.698

Actual Values			
	# Consumer	# Non-Consumer	Total #
Ferry Farm Structure C	50	3755	3805
44JC32 Feature 36	27	4664	4691
Monticello Building T	32	238	270
Total #	109	8657	8766

Expected Values			
	# Consumer	**# Non-Consumer**	**Total #**
Ferry Farm Structure C	37.47564501	3767.524355	3805
44JC32 Feature 36	46.20190558	4644.798094	4691
Monticello Building T	3.357289528	266.6427105	270
Total #	109	8657	8766

χ^2=259.729